2: Damm et al. --199-200 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 755 Faraulep

Hambruch watched a disease conjuration; the chief had influenza, and so he called the tau baṙebaṙ, who had this conversation with him:

"Why are you sick?"

"Alas, I am sick all over, in my head, arms, legs, stomach!"

"Are you a good man?"

"Yes, I am good!"

"I do not believe it!"

"No, I am good!"

"If you were good, Alüelap would not have made you ill. I believe that you have scolded people, or stolen some of their goods...."

[200] [CS: omission of the conjuration.]

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--259 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 167, 177, 755 Faraulep

The entire group had been resettled by persons from Ifaluk after the original inhabitants had annihilated each other in lasting feuds. In discussing this question the chief advanced the opinion that many a sickness had been imported through contact with European vessels, and he also made the presence of our ship responsible for the prevailing headcold and coughing epidemics. In earlier times there had been many old people; at present, however, this was not the case anymore, and people died off while they were still rather young. This is an old complaint, and not altogether without justification. ... Hambruch had gained the impression that a high percentage of the population had been infected with syphilis. After a few days the chief himself caught a headcold, and the sorcerer spoke his magic formula, passed a bunch of leaves gently over the sick man and sang at the same time his monotonous exorcising chant.

3: . Thilenius and Hellwig--260 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 755 Elato

In one of the houses [LEM: on Elato Island] there was a sick man, and the sorcerer was ready to exorcise the devil. For that purpose he made use of a great mat-fan which was placed in front of the house, and he also drank the contents of a coconut bowl which stood in front of the fan and which was decorated with wreaths of flowers. When he had emptied the cup he hung magic medicines, wrapped up in banana leaves, on the wall of the house.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--263 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 164, 755 Elato

On Elato much ethnographic material could be acquired though an influenza epidemic had impaired our work. Many patients had been quartered in the four large canoe houses, and their relatives surrounded and nursed them. The "King" had taken precautions against the spread of the disease; the preventive measures consisted of exorcism ceremonies, dances, and songs. Several times a day mussel-horns were blown.

4: Krämer--139 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 755 Lamotrek

A special medicine is prepared against influenza, masélepik. It is called afeilialis and was reported by Ikelúr. The juice of two coconuts is put into a wooden bowl; a pouch, tukemöil, with herbs and a small pouch with burnt coconut (Palau: ulogóug) and a third bag with djig, giliau, and uórong are soaked in it and then wrung out; the pouches remain in the bowl.

Hot stones are thrown into the liquid. The sick person is covered up with a mat and the bowl is placed next to him underneath the cover. The medicineman moves two lagat bunches of ferns (Figure 63 [VMM: see source]) and two branches of giliau over the sick under the mat and finally picks up a net (djróu) in order to catch the evil spirits that escape. At last he swings two branches of ear; he puts their ends into his mouth while he tries to charm them and appeals for help. After all these steps have been taken, the sick person is helped to sit up and drinks the medicine in the bowl. The same thing is repeated three times within two days. After use, the pouches with the medicines are hung up in the house.

4: Krämer--140-142 (1909) 1937 Wolcaians
116, 755 Elato

Against a stomach ache a pouch, tukemöilü tafei, is made up.... While magic words are spoken, the figure of a cross is described with this pouch, i.e., the movement is horizontal and vertical. The medicineman also has a red cross painted on his forehead and both shoulders. [ER: The words spoken on this occasion are omitted here and the same is true of other songs that accompany various steps of medical treatment.] [142]

Elisabeth Krämer observed the following case: a woman had swollen glands. Her husband gathered leaves and bark of the tree galau (giliau?) and crushed both on a wooden board; then he filled the crushed mass into coconut leaves, tied them together like a pacifier and fastened young coconut pinnae with magic knots to it. Then a young nut was opened, the pacifier was dipped into the milk of the nut and then taken out and pressed out over the water so that the color changed to brownish-green. The woman drank this water as a medicine.

"We shall examine the diseases, classified under tamai-le-alusengau and give a short description of the therapy employed. It should be remembered that in all these cases it is believed that the patient is a victim of an attack by the alusengau, in the form of a spirit possession, and the therapy consists of exorcising this alus.

(1). Maliel: This is an infrequent, but fatal illness. It is characterized by dizziness in the head. The patient is given medicine (19) after which his face is covered with a taro leaf, a small flame is held over the leaf, and a chapeng is sung. (20)

(2) Tamai-le-tagurul: This is frequent, but not fatal. It is a very sore back, preventing the person from rising. Medicine of herbs is heated very hot, and is held over his

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"19. All medicine consists of herbs or leaves of specified plants, which are stirred into water or coconut juice, and consumed by the patient. Unfortunately, I did not collect the names of these plants.

20. The chapengs for all the illnesses will follow the complete catalogue of disease."

back. This treatment is given morning and afternoon, and is preceeded by a chapeng.

(3). Metageserae: This is relatively frequent and fatal. It consists of pains in the stomach. (21) The patient is given medicine to drink, and a chapeng is sung, while the healer waves a cocopalm over the patient.

(4) Imailolo: Continuous vomiting. This is neither frequent nor fatal, and is cured by the consumption of medicine.

(5) Metageleperei: This is a sore leg, which is neither frequent nor fatal, and is treated by placing medicine on the leg.

(6) Mesatat: This is relatively frequent, (about the same as 3), and is fatal. It is a form of sea-sickness. The patient is given medicine to drink, a chapeng is sung, while the healer waves a coconut palm over the patient."

"21. Stomach pains cover a multitude of disease entities, and unquestionably include ruptured appendix, from which two of the four deaths we witnessed were caused."

But before continuing the theoretical discussion, it may be well to describe one or two concrete cases. Paluelimar, the third ranking chief, had been ill for about a month, and from the symptoms, it seemed like amoebic dysentary to us. Arogeligar and others brought him medicine, but to no avail, from which it was inferred that this was a serious illness, that required a chapeng and special medicine. (23)

Later that afternoon, as I was walking towards the house of Paluelimar to bring him some medicine, I met Arogeligar. He said he would perform a ceremony that evening for Paluelimar, and invited me to witness it. (24)

"23. A few days before the ceremony Arogeligar had met Dr. Burrows, and asked him if we had any medicine to give to Paluelimar. This, of course, is significant--the chief healer asking the strangers for medicine. It indicates among other things the unsureness, even on the part of the expert, concerning the efficacy of the alusemar, and their curing powers.

24. All medicine ceremonies are held in the evening. The natives explain that it is taboo to do any work immediately after the ceremony, so that if it were held in the day, the participants would have to remain inactive for the rest of the day. But this strikes me as a feeble attempt to offer a rational explanation for an irrational phenomenon, though I cannot suggest a better one."

After the men had collected their toddy, the ceremony began. Paluelimar is a chief, so that the entire courtyard was filled with people, sitting around the house. The entire district of Felarik, with few exceptions, and all his kin from the other districts were in attendance. In the center of the stage were Arogeligar and two male assistants. Arogeligar had a marmar on his head, a women's belt across one shoulder, extending in front of his chest, a cotton ball in his hair, in which were placed two white chicken feathers, and a tria comb in his hair. On his right wrist was a coconut leaf strip, and of course, his face was painted. [62]

A mat was set just outside the doorway, for Paluelimar to sit on, and Arogeligar thrust some coconut branches into this mat prior to the exit of Paluelimar.

When Paluelimar came out, he sat on the mat, and Arogeligar placed four coconuts all clinging to one stem in front of him. There was no talking of any kind, and a hush had fallen over the people. Arogeligar picked up a long coconut palm, and approached Paluelimar, reciting a chapeng in muted tones, while alternately striking the four coconuts, and bringing the palm back over his shoulder. When the chapeng was completed, he swept the palm horizontally from one shoulder blade to the other in rapid succession several times. He then picked one coconut from the stem, and holding it over the head

of Paluelimar, cut an incision in it with a wooden knife (25), and after several strokes of the incision, he plunged the knife into the coconut with a deft movement of the wrist. The coconut water spilled on to Paluelimar's head, and as it was falling Arogeligar sprinkled it over the heads of those sitting in the immediate vicinity. This 'medicine' has not only a therapeutic value, but a prophylactic one as well, so that parents sat with young infants in their arms, close to Paluelimar so that the infants could receive it. When the coconut was dry, he held it in his left hand, and cast it over his right shoulder,

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"25. The natives all have steel knives, and never use wooden knives, nor had I ever seen a wooden knife previously. This is an interesting point for the student of acculturation with respect to differentials in the degree of acceptance and resistance of foreign objects. Despite the greater physical efficiency of the steel knife, the wooden one is used for this ceremony, and the small shell, rather than a steel knife, is still used to sever the baby's umbilicus. In other words, those areas of culture which are imbued with mysterious connotations, in which the element of danger and unpredictability are strong, are most resistant to acculturation. Whether this is a valid generalization for other cultures, I don't know, but there is no question of its applicability to Ifaluk."

leaving it lay where it fell, without watching to see where it landed. The identical proceedure was repeated with a second coconut.

Arogeligar then took a small twig of a palm branch, smoothed back the hair of Paluelimar, which was dripping with the coconut water, after which Paluelimar reentered the house. Tobacco, belonging to Paluelimar, was then passed among the people, while Arogeligar rubbed paint into the incisions in the coconuts, which remained where they had fallen, and were not moved. He then went into the house to sing a chapeng, and the people were informed to return the following morning for the conclusion of the ceremony.

The people assembled the following morning at dawn. Arogeligar repeated the coconut ceremony with the two remaining nuts. He then could make his diagnosis, which follows from the configurations of the paint in the incisions. After reading these configurations he announced his diagnosis. The illness was caused by two alus. An alusengau of Paluelimar's parental home (Vwenau) (26), was the main cause, with [63] the

"26. Unlike the alusemar, each house does not have its own alusengau, for the latter attack indiscriminately. However, there are cases, in which a great number of people of one household suddenly [sic], in which case it is inferred that the deaths are caused by the alusengau of this lineage, and the people abandon the house and build a new one. Now this happened to be the case here. Paluelimar's lineage house (Vwenau) had been abandoned because of the sudden deaths of a number of its members, so that it is known that alusengau of his lineage are particularly vicious."

assistance of an alusetat.

This ceremony, like all ceremonies, was followed in the late afternoon by a feast, partially provided by Paluelimar, most of it brought by the assembled people, each household eating its own food.

Thus we see that the diagnosis of the illness is simple, merely being an identification of the symptoms. The diagnosis of the cause, however, involves the ceremony just described. But this ceremony is not only of diagnostic value, but is therapeutic as well, the coconut juice becoming medicine after the chapeng recited by Arogeligar.

All those who had participated in the ceremony were under the taboo of not working. The taboo is removed by the partaking of food at the feast.

The members of the lineage, however, may not work for four days."

"In case of a protracted illness, the members of the person's immediate family do not cut their hair. The person, himself, may not have his food cooked from the family fire, but has it cooked on a separate fire. It is taboo, also, for a person who is well, to eat food prepared on the fire of a sick person.

The patient is visited every day by various kin who come to talk, to bring food or to help around the house. Th women gather at the house in the day, but in the evening the men and children join them, and they merely sit about, talking in modulated tones, but offering no consolation or commiseration with the victim. If the person is seriously ill, and there is a strong possibility of death, the kind alternate in sleeping in the house of the victim, or in the house adjacent to it. The natives say that they do this to keep abreast of the condition of the one who is sick. Whatever the reason, the practice was followed every night after the medicine ceremony for Paluelimar, and again for the person, whose ceremony is to be described below.

Navor, the daughter of a deceased chief, a married woman, and mother of five children, complained of pains in her stomach, which were diagnosed as metageserai and which, in this case, was probably a ruptured appendix. Various people brought her medicine, Arogeligar recited the proper chapeng, all to no avail. She was then moved from her house to the house of kin on the other island. This is a common proceedure. It is

believed that the alus might depart if the patient is moved from his own house. But her condition did not improve, and a number of ceremonies were conducted for her. She was then moved to another house, and a four day ceremony was held, the same kind that was later performed and which I witnessed. Later, when her condition was thought to be very grave, she was moved to her own house, the custom being that a person should die in his own lineage house. A few days after her return home, the ceremony for metageserai was performed, in which Maroligar officiated. The ceremony was repeated on four successive nights. It is held inside the house, and all the kin of the person and the kin of the spouse are in attendance, at least on one of the four nights. The immediate family participates on all nights. Maroligar wore a strip of green coconut branch about his neck, and a cotton headdress in his hair. In his right hand, he held the medicine, which was comprised of herbs enclosed in coconut bark, attached to a coconut branch. Before beginning the chapeng, he dipped medicine in some water, and had Navor drink from it as he squeezed it into her mouth. He then began the chapeng, assisted by the assembled people, while he waved the medicine bundle over the patient, who lay prostrate before him. The motion is really a throwing motion, as if he were to throw a spear. He clasps the medicine over his shoulder, and then shoots it out over the patient, circling it constantly over for the duration of a line of the chapeng, then he returns it over his shoulder, and shoots it out again for a new line. At the end of each stanza, he

dipped it into the water, sprinkled some on the chest of the patient, and then began the next stanza, repeating the same movements. When the chapeng was finished, there was an intermission of about fifteen minutes, and then it was repeated in its entirety. At the [64] completion Maroligar distributed tobacco to all present, and then they sang some general chapengs.

These ceremonies are very eerie, solemn, and profoundly impressive in a weird sense. The house is illuminated by a single flame of a candle, casting its shadows in fantastic forms about the house, while the atonal music, and the words of the chapeng cast a never-to-be-forgotten spell on the observer. The people were all solemn, no one talking or laughing, and the mood of the adults permeated to the children, for they were quiet throughout the entire proceedings, which is rare indeed for them.

After the ceremony there is talking and laughing, though in subdued tones.

The reaction of the patient to this ceremony is not known, but one could venture the guess that it does not improve her morale, to say the least. The chapeng reminds her of her possible death, the severity of her illness, and of her possession by an alus, the latter being a terrifying thought."

28: Spiro--64
116, 755, 574

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The afternoon following this ceremony was the occasion for the usual feast. The men went fishing in the morning and the women prepared taro, and again each family brought its own food, consuming it at the house of Navor. Of course, only those who had participated in the ceremonies came to the feast. The people were dressed in their finest--the women wore their new lavalavas, and the men and women both had painted faces. Every one was solemn and very quiet and talk was hushed and low. This insistence on silence at these feasts results in the only attempt I know of to curb the free expression of children. A mother will slap her child's hand, or put her hand over its mouth if he should persist in speaking loudly. This training apparently is quite effective, since the adults conform to this practice of silence without exception. After completing their meals, the people departed one by one, though not before Arogeligar had distributed the cigarettes that we had brought to Maroligar, and had made a humorous speech."

28: Spiro--64 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 755, 613, 784 Ifalik

"Aside from these important curing ceremonies, there are medicine ceremonies for the ill, in which only the lineage participates. They are held in the house of the sick person, and the house is taboo to any one but the participants.

There are other taboos associated with the making or consumption of medicine. After making medicine from herbs, there are periods of isolation, ranging from a day to a month--depending upon the nature of the medicine--during which time the person neither sleeps in his house, nor eats of its food.

The consumption of a certain medicine creates the taboo on eating food cooked on a fire of breadfruit wood, or taking a light from a breadfruit-punk fire."

28: Spiro--64-65
116, 755, 771, 787, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"This association of religion and medicine is found not only in the healing of individuals but also in the group or public ceremonies and rituals. The public ceremonies are all medicine ceremonies, in which medicine is made and consumed immediately as a prophylactic against future illness, and in which the alusemar are invoked to protect the people from illness. Though other Alus are involved, it is Tilitr that plays the important role in these ceremonies. Tilitr is difficult to conceptualize in terms of our two categories of alusemar, for he is really intermediate in rank between them, being neither in the pantheon, nor having ever been mortal. He lives in Fatuma, with the royal family of alus, but descends to Ifaluk frequently, particularly at the public ceremonies when he is invoked, and then returns to Aluelap to report to him. Tilitr, as has already

been indicated, is the patron saint of Ifaluk, protecting them from evil and from illness. (27)" [65]

"27. Tilitr predicted an American victory in the war. The natives, of course, knew of the war because of the airplanes which flew over-head, because the Japanese had told them of the war, and because Ifaluk young men had been on Yap during the American bombardment of the island. During the war Tilitr had told Arogeligar that the Americans would win, and that he (Tilitr) would assist them. He also had told him that the Americans were a fine people, that they had 'very fine head, very fine stomach,' and that the Ifaluk head and stomach were small, by comparison."

28: Spiro--65-66 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1
116, 755 Ifalik

"The first ceremony we witnessed, a medicine making ceremony, is called only at the command of Tilitr himself. (The chiefs say, Lugeiling.) An inhabitant of the dwelling in whose courtyard is the Bwuter Tilitr on Falalap is possessed by Tilitr, who informs him that the ceremony should be held. In this case a very old man, completely disabled, was possessed, and the two day ceremony was called and held on September 19-20.

The ceremony started in mid-morning, and as we approached the Bwuter Tiltr, men and women were seated around the sand shrine, singing a chapeng, and pulling a rope of grass back and forth around the circumference of the sand. From the house, in whose courtyard the ceremony was to take place, the old man who had been possessed was still uttering unintelligible sounds, and at times would burst into song with the people outside.

At the same time other people were assembling, and on one side of the court, [66] a number of young men were husking huge quantities of coconuts. When all the people had arrived, the ceremony began. It is to be understood, of course, that every one attends these ceremonies, so that the entire population was congregated within the courtyard, sitting about the shrine, facing it, men and women sitting apart. The people were 'dressed up' in their lion cloths and skirts. They were all quiet during the ceremony some exhibiting a very profound reverence. Even the children were quiet desisting from the usual horseplay. Arogeligar, the officiating priest, then gave orders to make the medicine and the young men, who had husked the coconuts, opened them, permitting

their juice to run into two large metal vats. When this was completed, the angorik and warung (or maybe other plants, I'm not sure) were mixed into the coconut juice to form the medicine. Arogeligar then sprinkled this medicine on the people, in all four directions. The young men, then passed out coconut shells to the people, filled with the medicine, which they drank. The medicine had a very pleasant ginger taste, given it by the plant.

When the medicine had been consumed, a young man, one of Arogeligar's assistants, stood in the midst of the assembly, and sang a chapeng, while waving two of the medicine plants to and fro. He then sat down, took a branch of the same plant, dipped it in the medicine, and as people gathered about him, he sang the next verse of the chapeng, while circling the branch around his head, continuing this until the verse was completed; whereupon he dipped the branch in the medicine once again, and went on to the next verse.

When the chapeng was completed, the ceremony was over. Now the people all joined in the farewell to the alus, which ends all religious ceremonies. It is shouted in a shrill kind of stocatto, rising to a crescendo at the tayokidis at the end, and ending with a trilled whistle."

28: Spiro--66
116, 533, 755, 868

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The chapeng chanted at the ceremony [WPM: see p. 65] was taught to Arogeligar by Tilitr, who in turn taught it to the people. The farewell chant was taught to Arogeligar by Aluelap. The vocabulary as well as construction is unusual, the people understanding very little of it, so that Tom had to ask Arogeligar to interpret the words to him, before he could translate them for me."

28: Spiro--69-70 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 755 Ifalik

"With the farewell, the morning ceremony was over [WPM: see p. 65] and the people returned to their homes, In the afternoon, they reassembled, the sexes again sitting apart. Arogeligar's assistants each took a plant, soaked it in the coconut juice remaining from the morning, and then squeezed it out into individual coconut shells, to be consumed shortly. They then jerked their arms over their heads in a precipitate movement, so that the juice was sprinkled onto the people sitting around them.

One of the officiators then dipped a branch of the plant into the medicine, and accompanied by two other officiators, he chanted a chapeng while revolving the branch about his head in a clockwise direction. He then dipped the branch into the medicine, and revolved it in a counter-clockwise direction. When he finished, the farewell hymn was sung, ending the ceremony proper. [70]

The medicine was then distributed among the people, first giving some to Dr. Burrows and myself, and then to the natives. The medicine had an oily texture, and tasted like a western laxative.

While this medicine was being distributed, Arogeligar lighted four cigarettes, and placed them in the sand of the shrine, as offerings to the alus. He then sat immersed in meditation, looking up towards the sky at intervals.

When the medicine was consumed, tobacco was distributed among the people, and Arogeligar made a speech exhorting the people to obey the chiefs, and to obey Dr. Burrows and me."

28: Spiro--70 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 755, 784, 462, 778 Ifalik

"The people returned to their homes, work and sexual relations being taboo. The next day there was to be a feast, and that night the men went fishing after the appearance of the moon. The next morning the men resumed their fishing, while the women prepared taro and breadfruit. (Dr. Burrows and I contributed two tines of beef). It was not until late afternoon that we started for Falalap. As we approached we saw the women sitting around the shrine singing, while making garlands. The possessed man was still semi-delirious and would break into song at unpredicable intervals.

The shrine was then completely encircled by garlands, after which others were distributed among all the people assembled. Arogeligar announced that the alus had informed him that the American visitors were very fine men, and that they should receive garlands.

The chiefs then gave their permission to begin eating. This time, the sexes were not spearated, because the people sat in family groups, except for the chiefs who ate together with the ethnographers. At the conclusion of the meal, the people disbanded and returned to their homes."

28: Spiro--70-71
116, 755, 535, 292

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Shortly after this ceremony, Arogeligar announced a forthcoming medicine-dance. Tilitr had possessed him and informed him that a medicine dance should be held, for if it were not, illness would descend on the people. After a two week preparation the dance was held on October 9. Like the other religious ceremonies devoted to health, this one has a dual function; it serves to protect the healthy from disease, and it has therapeutic effect on those who are ill. The dance was held at Bwuter Tilitr, on Falalap, and the people were decorously dressed with flower wreaths, painted faces, and headdresses of cotton batton in which were fastened white chicken feathers. The dance was in two parts, one of the men, and one of the women. In either case, the dancers sat in a row facing the onlookers.

The men assumed quasi-feminine garb for this occasion. They wore skirts made of coconut branches, over their loin cloths, and they wore the shell belts worn by the women. Arogeligar, of course, was in charge of this dance, whose participants--young men and boys--had been practicing almost two weeks.

The dance is performed sitting, the dancers accompanying themselves with songs. The dance involves only the movement of the arms and of the torso, in which the arms are extended in front of the body at face level, the hands are weaved and saved, then the arms are flexed and the hands gesture towards the body in an enfolding movement, culminating in a clapping of the biceps as arms corss. Both the men's and women's dances were

the same, the women taking over when the men finished.

An interesting sidelight in both dances was the little 'game' played by Wolpatau, the first ranking chief. He walked behind the dancers cigarettes in hand, and held [71] some cigarettes over the head of a dancer while blowing his whistle. Any member of the dancer's lineage could seize the cigarettes from his hand. This produced much laughter and excitement, which contrasted with the seriousness of the dance and its serious intent.

When the dancing was completed, the usual distribution of coconuts by household [sic] followed. Following the consumption of the coconuts, Taroman presented Tilitr with a new lavalava, which was placed on the shrine. Speeches by Arogeligar, Taroman, and Wolptau followed, all stressing the same points, to obey the chiefs and to be good. The chiefs then distributed their tobacco to the people, again by households.

On a whole the ceremony gave the impression of lethargy. It seemed to lack energy, interest, or vitality. The men showed greater animation than the women, but they had the volatile Arogeligar to provide them with stimulus."

28: Spiro--71 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 755, 796 Ifalik

"No ceremony was held for over a month and a half. On November 27, a minor ceremony was held in the late morning, but only the people of the Felarik district were in attendance. It was held, as usual, at bwuter Tilitr. When we arrived, we saw the alter surrounded by red and white colored maramar, which were distributed among the people, each receiving at least one of each color. Arogeligar then made a speech addressed to the chiefs telling them that they must ensure better care of the shrine. He then announced a medicine making ceremony for the following day, and told the women to prepare the times, which we shall explain below. The people then gathered about the shrine to say the traditional farewell.

The women retired to prepare the times. The times are coconut mats, made of young coconut branches, which the young men hang on trees along the shores, encircling both islands. Before they are hung on the trees, five men sing a ritual song over them. The words of the song cling to the Times, and as they sway in the breeze the words are automatically repeated over and over again. The people, of course, cannot hear the words, but the alus and illness can, and when they attempt to enter the islands and cause illness, they are frightened by the song, and do not enter. Times, therefore, may very well be a contraction of itoae mas, 'not die'."

"The following day, after the times had been hung by the young men, the ceremony was held. This time it was not held at bwuter Tilitr, but near the small club-house in Falalap across the channel from Felarik. Coconut juice was poured into the cauldron, as before, and angorik was added to it. This medicine was then passed among the people in coconut shells, after which the young men gathered about the cauldron, and chanted the following chapeng, which ended the ceremony.

My arm has made this medicine, hot as fire, to ward off illness
My medicine is hot as fire, those who drink will not fall ill
My arm is hot as fire.
My medicine is hot. Illness will not come.
My medicine is very hot. It descends into the oceans. It is very hot.
My medicine is very hot, it descends into the waters, it ascends into the heavens.
(the point being that Aluelap finally puts it into the cauldron).
Drink of this medicine, and be well.
Drink, and live.
This is the medicine of Tilitc. (At this point it is stirred)
Tilewetan has given it its healing powers.
Depart, you devils,

Depart and sleep under the sands.
Depart, Depart!
Depart, Depart!
Depart, you devils of the reef,
Depart you devils of the reef.
Depart, depart!
Sleep!
This is a traditional song, called Sisitenitavei--lit., 'place medicine in the cauldron and sing'"

28: Spiro--137 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 763, 755, 533 Ifalik

"If a person is seriously ill, his relatives, both matrilineal and patrilineal, assemble in his home--or in the home in which he happens to be (1), for public wailing. They sing many chapeng, which are the religious songs, directed to the alus. When he is close to death, they sing a bwaruch--a love song--and, interestingly enough, with the same bodily movements that are normally employed. It is also interesting that this is the only time in which a bwarux is sung in the presence of both sexes. When he is dead, they sing a Garuaru le'zari, a lament for the loss of a child."

"1. We have already seen that if a person has a prolonged illness, he is moved from his own home to the home of another person, it being believed that the changing of his domicile will aid in his recovery."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Katelu where Maur's spirit lingered; there was a tiny, thatched "god house" in the Valul household area on Falalap; and an immaculate, sanded circular altar as part of the Weluar household area. We called Arueligar the "high priest" because he had the highest ecclesiastical authority on the island, officiating at the few religious ceremonies we observed. Husky, handsome Truesai was his designated successor.

Ted, both in 1948 and in 1953, devoted much time to collecting notes on religious beliefs. He felt that these beliefs were steadily weakening, that he could notice a difference in this respect between his 1948 and 1953 visits. The gods, however, were still with us in 1953; alus, spirits, who haunted certain places, governed various natural events, and interfered for good or evil in the affairs of men. Ted collected a list of nine high gods, and of dozens of lesser spirits. He found, for instance, twenty-seven different alus concerned with different matters in connection with navigation and canoe building—though these, to be sure, are basic activities, much subject to divine guidance in any maritime culture.

My impression, however, based mostly on Ted's writings, notes and comments, is that the Ifalukians were far from having an organized theology. The accounts of divine affairs that Ted got from Arueligar and from the chiefs did not always agree; and most people apparently gave little thought to such matters, leaving them to the chiefs and the specialists. The alus were present, all right, but accepted as a part of the natural order of things: the spirits that every folk find in the world around them.

The vast majority of the alus were spirits of the dead. No one died while I was on Ifaluk, but Ted and Mel Spiro observed four deaths during their 1948 stay. They have described these in their book on Ifaluk: the intense preoccupation on the part of friends and relatives with trying to save a seriously ill person by every natural or supernatural means, the nightly wailing chants, the great seriousness surrounding possible death, and the abrupt relaxation of this seriousness once death has occurred, once the alus has left the body. They ascribe this attitude to the firm belief in the continuity of the soul.

The body of the dead, however, is given ceremonial treatment: the face is painted red, a new loin-cloth or skirt is put on, and then the